Journal of Global Theatre History ISSN: 2509-6990 Vol. 2, No. 1, 2017, 37–46

Viviana Iacob

Caragiale in Calcutta: Romanian-Indian Theatre Diplomacy during the Cold War

Abstract

History of Cold War culture has moved in the last couple of years from an East versus West bipolar narrative to investigating the phenomenon from a global perspective. There is a resurgent focus on encounters between the Second and the 'Third' Worlds, between socialist states and those from the Global South. My paper is a contribution to the discussion about the role played by theatre exchanges in the cultural dialogue between East and South. Its focus is on Romanian and Indian attempts, starting with the mid-1950s, to bridge the distance between the two cultures. I underline the connection between broader programs of developmental assistance and the entrenchment of cultural relations between Romania and India, particularly in the realm of theatre. I argue that economic rapprochement constituted the igniting premise for mutual discovery. Drawing from the representation of the socialist camp as the "Second World," my paper will underline the role of Indian progressive intellectuals in the consolidation of theatre exchanges with Romania – a development that can easily be extended to relations across Eastern Europe. Based on the Romanian-Indian encounter, the paper will flesh out two interrelated evolutions in theatre diplomacy between Eastern Europe and the Global South: the importance of individual elective affinities built by way of bilateral relations in facilitating reciprocal adaptation; and, the conversion of personal experience into more systematic programs of theatre exchanges, which mirrored the developmental assistance of state socialist regimes to post-colonial societies.

Author

Viviana Iacob is currently affiliated with the Centre for Advanced Study in Sofia. Her scholarly focus is on theatre history after 1945 in Eastern Europe, theatre internationalists during the Cold War and the role of recent archives in performance research. *She* defended her PhD thesis entitled *Shakespeare Performances: A Study of Socialist Realism in Romanian Theatre (1946-1964)* at the University of Bucharest /Doctoral School of Literary and Cultural Studies in 2015. She has a BA in Art History and Theory from the Art History and Theory Department, National University of Arts Bucharest and an MA in Theatre History from Illinois State University (2005-2007). She is the recipient of a Junior Fulbright Scholarship and of several research grants awarded by the Romanian state.

In 1969 two plays by Romanian playwright I. L. Caragiale opened in Calcutta: *A Stormy Night* and *The Lost Letter*. Both were adapted to Bengali by translator Amita Ray and produced by the group Panchamitram. Ray, a long time correspondent of the Institute for Cultural Relations Abroad sent clippings from Bengali newspapers attesting to her excellent adaptation skills. These performances were the peak of a program of cultural bilateral relations that had its ups and downs all throughout the Cold War.

In the 1950s and the 1960s India and the second world searched together for a common language in which to converse. Romania's initiative to branch out to the Global South and to India, in particular, took the cue from the Soviet Union. In the early 1950s information about Indian culture was gathered by authorities in Bucharest via journals such as *Sovietzkaia Muzica*, *Sovietkaia Cultura* or *Pravda*[1]. They also paid close attention to interactions between India and other socialist bloc members. During the 1960s, Romanian officials created a program of cultural exchange with India that successfully negotiated the input about this country received via the Soviet Union and/or Eastern Europe and Bucharest's own interests in the region. The article is a case study of East-South exchanges and it reveals a bilateralism that defies Cold War binaries.

The contribution analyses the tensions between what Romania considered relevant for export in terms of theatre and how officials and socialist experts tailored a cultural exchange program for the Indian context. I discuss several points of contact between the two cultures in order to show the role played by theatre diplomacy in connecting the East and the South during the Cold War.

Romania and India signed their first cultural exchange agreement in 1957[2] in the aftermath of a tour carried out in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by a significant Indian cultural delegation. This particular event sowed the seeds for future interactions between the two states. At the same time, the encounter reveals the difficulties in pursuing a viable exchange and communication between these two very different cultures. The Indian delegation (36 members) travelled to the USSR in 1956 for the second part of the year. All travel expenses to Prague (the entry point in Eastern Europe) the per diem for artists and the equipment were covered by the Indian government. The journey to Moscow, all the expenses entailed by the delegation in various Soviet Republics as well as the travel expenses to Bucharest were provided for by the USSR. The tour across Eastern Europe was followed by Romanian cultural officials. Information was exchanged between USSR and Romania on how to receive the Indian delegation, what to discuss, what to expect. The Institute for Cultural Relations Abroad, an institution that at the time managed all friendship societies with foreign countries translated diligently articles about the activities of the Indian delegation featured in the Soviet press. Detailed accounts were compiled about the official personnel (party and state) that received the Indian artists in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. Tabs were kept on the talks carried out with each government and the results achieved. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest received from the Indian delegation beforehand a complete list of the artists and a short description of the art form they were presenting. Sitara Devi, an internationally renowned Indian classical dancer, was among the delegation members. There were representatives of the Santiniketan Group (a school established by Tagore and transformed by the Indian Government into a University). Aside Bharatanatyan, there were also Katak and Kathakali performers.

Reading the documents gathered in the Romanian archives about the Indian delegation's tour in USSR, there is a sense that an effort to find a common ground was an important issue throughout the journey. The Soviet commentators reviewing the visit described the Kathakali performance as a pantomime dance featuring elaborate "masks." They praised Sitara Devi for her grace and the Santiniketan group for their "Harvest dance," (IRRCS 46/1956-1958, 157) no doubt in an attempt to honour Tagore's special connection with the Soviet Union. Even though communication was arduous, all parties went to great lengths to meet each other half way. Indian artists gave up their honorariums (when Soviet artist visited India a year earlier, they had done the same). The Soviet press did its best to show that audiences were warm and welcoming, that they appreciated the charm and elegance of performers and that the artists on both sides found dance to be a common language.[3] The fact that the East – South dialogue was by no means effortless is confirmed by a report filed with the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry in the aftermath of the tour. The document underlined that "as Indian art forms are far removed from the Russian, Ukrainian and other peoples on the European side of the USSR, the program performed by Indian artists was a bit monotonous and boring for the public in Moscow, Leningrad, Simferopol and Odessa. It was better received in the cities of the Asian republics of the USSR" (MAE 66 / 1956, 14). The tensions the Indian group had to deal with in terms of its overall reception in the socialist camp were voiced back home by some members of the delegation (Kumar 1957, 20). The fact that the gulf between cultures needed much work on either side was further confirmed when a Polish cultural delegation, a violoncellist, a pianist, a singer and a couple of translators went to India in late 1956. They discovered that "Indian audiences are not necessarily fans of European classical music they do not understand or appreciate it" (MAE 67 / 1956, 31). To make matters worse, their Indian counterparts were administratively overwhelmed when it came to organizing encounters that featured cultural events from Eastern Europe. The ground to be covered in terms of bilateral cultural exchanges between Eastern European countries and India became obvious a year earlier. Yuri Zavadsky, a celebrated Soviet director, visited India as member of the 1955 cultural delegation. His account is telling for what one might describe as a culture shock. He tried to overcome it by narrating the journey in all its minute details. The underlining theme of his account was the idea of contrast: old men in traditional garb on bicycles, ancient temples standing next to the city built by Corbusier, students learning under a three about Soviet economics at the Santiniketan University (mentioned earlier). He visited museums and mused about the ancient art of India while also wondering if there will ever be an Indian opera since Indian music never knew polyphony. Zavadsky met with progressive personalities such as Malayan poet Vallathol (the founder of the Kerala Kalamandalan)[4] and with Mulk Raj Anand, a central figure in the post-independence theatre scene in this country (Dharwadker 2005). Zavadsky recorded their conversation for the Soviet public making a point in underlining Anand's opinion that "India must create its own theatre based on popular traditions which are currently used by progressive associations that cherish classical forms by supplementing them with a new content" (IRRCS 46 / 1956-1958, 223).

Soon after the Soviet delegation came back from India, playwright and theatre historian Balwant Gargi wrote for *Inostranaia Literatura* about the "the popular tradition of Indian theatre" presenting Tagore as precursor of Lorca and Brecht. The

Indian intellectual also discussed the role of the popular theatre movement in India and the influence of Gorky and Stanislavski in this context. He even mentioned the fact that Indian directors travelled to USSR to train at the Moscow Art Theatre and the Vaghtangov Theatre. But Balwant Gargi also corresponded with Romanian cultural institutions. In 1956 he wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enquire if any of his works were published in Romania and to let Romanian officials know that *Stop Press*, by interwar Romanian writer Mihail Sebastian, was adapted for stage in Hindi (MAE 67 / 1956, 130). In this particular context, there is an interesting conversation on Gargi's relationship with Romanian officials. The latter worried that the adaptation of the above-mentioned play to the Indian context might entail altering its message. The idea of following as closely as possible a specific approach in production will come up later in the context of Caragiale's adaptation in Bengali. Certainly to his disappointment, a play by Gargi was available in Romanian only in 1967. *The Mango Tree* was translated for the Association of Artists from Musical and Theatre Institutions from a French version published in a series of six Asian plays by the International Theatre Institute (I.T.I.), a UNESCO-affiliated NGO, one of the most important arenas for global theatre interaction. The connection with I.T.I. might seem haphazard, but the international organization played an important role in Romanian - Indian cultural bilateralism. For example, in September 1956, when the Indian delegation toured Romania, the articles featured in the local press echoed to some extent the Soviet narrative about Indian culture, but, at the same time, there were strong signs that local commentators were acutely aware of the role that the I.T.I. sponsored journal *World Theatre* played in bridging cultural divides. There were reviews of the Indian performances by Tudor Vianu (soon to be secretary of the Romanian UNESCO Commission) and critic and playwright Ecaterina Oproiu. More importantly, the cultural journal *Contemporanul* translated Kapila Malik's article on Barathanatyam from *World Theatre*.[5] Cultural historian Ovidiu Drâmba's musings on the Indian theatre traditions quoted heavily Raghavan's article from the same *World Theatre* issue dedicated to India's theatre history.

Gargi was not the only Indian progressive theatre expert with whom Romanian officials were in contact, nor was he their only I.T.I. connection. Another very influential liaison was Kamaldevi Chattopadhyaya. Kamaldevi had an interesting background. She and her former husband were known for their progressive views, she was close to Nehru and aside from being president of the Indian Centre of the International Theatre Institute she was the president of the Indian Handicrafts and Visual Arts Associations. In mid-1956, she inquired with the Romanian Legation representative in New Delhi if she could visit the country as part of her larger research about theatre training and production for both professional and amateur theatre (MAE 59 / 1956, 80). She was promised help with her inquiry in exchange for an invitation to the First World Conference of the I.T.I., which she was coordinating in Bombay.[6] The latter gathering was part and parcel of what one might call India's 1956 worldwide cultural offensive. Not only was the ninth session of the UNESCO Congress held in New Delhi but there was also a World Congress on Asian and African Writers[7] and the 31st Indian Philosophical Congress (MAE 68 / 1956, 86). Romania received an invitation for all these events. The I.T.I. gathering was in fact seen as a preamble for the general conference of UNESCO (BNF/ITI/ 1956, Bogdanovici, 1). Moreover, the address of I.T.I.'s secretary general at

the time, André Josset, was tailored so as to consider delegations in the audience that weren't I.T.I. members (BNF / ITI / 1956, Josset 1956, 10).

Organized between October 29 and November 2, 1956 in Bombay, the list of participants at the First World Theatre Conference almost read like a Bandung meeting in the field of theatre. Many recently de-colonized states were represented and were able to join a global dialogue with their colleagues from other regions of the world among them Europeans, either from the East or West.[8] Among the attendees were delegations from countries such as Indonesia, China (I.T.I. member since 1980), Iran (I.T.I. member since 1962), Syria (I.T.I. member since 1968), Egypt (I.T.I. member since 1962), East Germany (I.T.I. member since 1959) which at the time had not joined the organization yet. There were also representatives from the U.K., U.S.A, Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, France and the Scandinavian Theatre Union, (Denmark, Sweden, Finland with Norway as the flag bearer for all four). While I have not found archival evidence that there were Romanian participants at the I.T.I. conclave, the event took place just before the ninth session of UNESCO's general conference in New Delhi (November 5–December 5). The government in Bucharest dispatched a massive delegation at the latter gathering. They went to great lengths to make the most of their presence in India. A member of the delegation published back home an article on post-independence theatre in India, for the first time based on a firsthand account (Ghimpu 1957)[9]. The text was the outcome of the discussions and mutual discovery between members of the Romanian group and Indian counterparts, some of whom had been involved in the proceedings of I.T.I. conference (e.g., Kamaldevi Chattopadhyaya).

Being privy to debates on theatre in international contexts was important for Romania especially in the mid-1950s when local cultural officials tailored the country's future theatre diplomacy to the West. In 1956 going to India meant meeting the entire world, both the Global South and the West. At the time, Romania was not recognized as a relevant postwar theatre culture. The country was not yet an I.T.I. member. It only joined in 1959 together with the Soviet Union and East Germany. Just a few months before the First World I.T.I. Conference, Romania participated at the first Theatre of Nations Festival in Paris with two productions: *Stop Press* by interwar playwright Mihail Sebastian (mentioned earlier in connection with Gargi) and *The Lost Letter* by XIXth century writer I. L. Caragiale. The Paris festival launched I.L. Caragiale posthumous Cold War international carrier as a main conduit of Romanian theatre diplomacy. When *The Lost Letter* was performed in Calcutta in 1969, the play had been produced in 30 theatres around the world in the respective national languages (Fig.1). Furthermore, between 1968 and 1969 *The Lost Letter* and *A Stormy Night* (also by Caragiale) were shown numerous times at different venues in Calcutta, no doubt in connection with Nicolae Ceausescu's state visit to India (see footnote 2).

The Bengali productions of *The Lost Letter* between 1968 and 1969 epitomise Romania's engagement with India during the Cold War not only in terms of theatre diplomacy but also as a signifier for the coordinates of this interaction, always predicated by development related issues. Even though the 1956 events opened up Romania to the Global South and to the world, cultural exchanges with India in the following years were strenuous and after 1961 they reached a standstill. In a report from 1963, suggestions were made on how to "activize" (i.e., revitalize) connections with India. Among the measure listed were: the experts charged with technical assistance in India should be

used as propaganda anchors;[10] and, IRRCS's individual Indian correspondents who were interested in popularizing Romanian culture had to be encouraged and supported (IRRCS 64 / 1962-1964, 70).

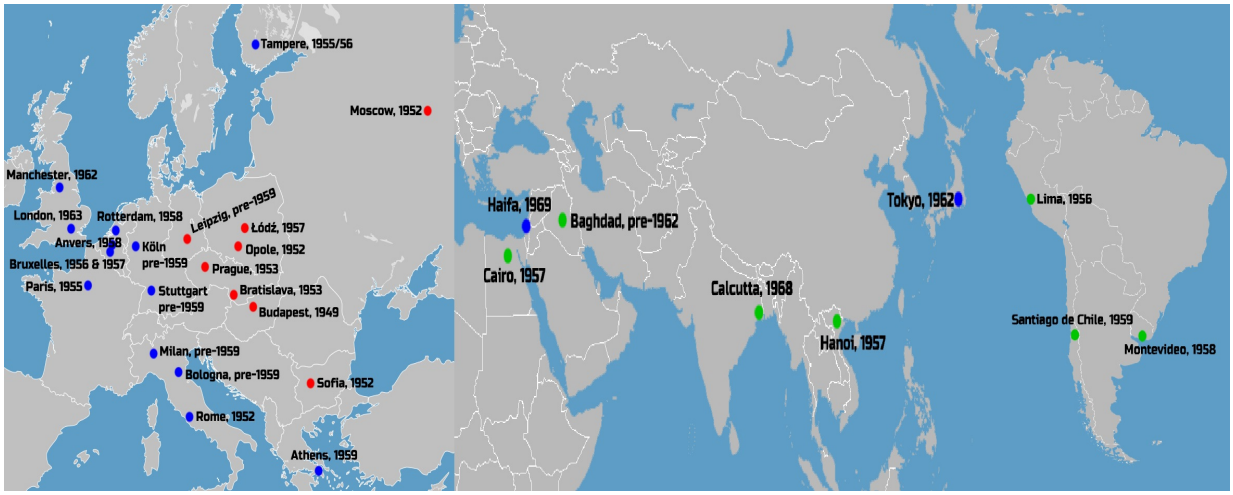

Fig.1: The Lost Letter *productions around the world between 1952 and 1969 (the map does not include the production on tour in Romanian). Blue signifies productions in the 'capitalist camp' (including Israel and Japan); red productions in the socialist camp; and green those in the Global South.*

In 1967 Romanian officials were still searching for the best way to engage India on cultural matters (MAE 657 / 1967, 7–8).[11] That year, a note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows that I.T.I. was still considered the best connection to India. Actor and director Ranbir Sihn was invited for a six-day visit in Romania to research local theatre after he had initially contacted the Romanian I.T.I. centre (MAE 656 / 1967, 64).[12]

To understand the conditions that allowed for the Bengali adaptations to come to fruition we have to turn back to the 1956 Indian cultural delegation and the nature of the connections established at the time. In 1956, when A.K. Chanda, the leader of the Indian delegation, met the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Grigore Preoteasa, they agreed that first exchanges between the two cultures should focus on technical assistance. When Chanda visited the Ministry of Culture, the discussion revolved around literacy and Romanian folklore, but no agreement was struck in terms of cultural bilateralism. Preoteasa insisted that Romania could offer expertise in oil industry and medicine while India could reciprocate with know-how on irrigations. In 1959 several Indian experts were sent to Romania for specialization. Among them, Dipak Kumar Ray, who specialized in oil geology. He brought his wife Amita Ray. In the following years, she became the foremost advocate of Romanian culture in India. In 1971, she moved to Bucharest to pursue a doctoral degree in philology. She wrote a dissertation on Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian national poet. Since 1972, she also taught a course in Bengali language and literature.[13]

In 1959, Amita Ray attended a two-year Romanian language course. Upon her return to India in 1961, she launched a campaign of popularizing Romanian culture by translating literature, holding conferences and adapting Romanian playwrights (mainly Caragiale and Sebastian) for Indian theatre companies. Her activity is particularly important since her constant engagement with Romania's theatre canon was enthusiastically supported, by Romanian decision-makers at IRRCS and MAE.

In 1967, *The Lost Letter* was produced in Hindi by the Indian People's Theatre Association. It opened in Bombay and it coincided with the electoral campaign in the country. The play was performed numerous times but there is no evidence that this production was backed by Romanian authorities (MAE 565 / 1967, 65).[14]

For the first Bengali adaption of *The Lost Letter* in 1968, Amita Ray worked with film director Sunil Banergee. Caragiale's play premiered in August at the Prekshapat theatre in Calcutta (MAE 712 / 1968, 30). The performance was accompanied by a booklet about Caragiale and his work. In late June, Amita Ray had informed the Romanian Embassy in Delhi that Caragiale's *The Lost Letter* would be staged in Calcutta to celebrate the anniversary of the Romanian Socialist Republic. She asked if the Romanian government wanted to help financially with the publication of the booklet and with additional documentation (i. e. several production photographs). She was successful in obtaining the requested Romanian support. By the end of July all materials were sent via airmail. The Romanian ambassador to New Delhi wrote back in September to report that the play was a tremendous success due to Ray's adaptation and Sunil Banergee's play text.

An additional factor of the production's success was, according to the official, Caragiale's suitability to the contemporary political context in India. I. L. Cargiale's *The Lost Letter* centres on the circumstances of an election, taking place in a provincial town in Romania during the 1880s. The socialist interpretation of the play focused on the failings of the "so-called democratic system". The production emphasized Caragiale's mordant criticism of the mores of his times. Consequently the socialist adaptation was seen as a comment to democratic systems considered flawed from a progressive perspective.

The partnership between Amita Ray, Sunil Banergee, continued in 1969 with the stage adaptation of another Caragiale play, *A Stormy Night* in Calcutta along with a re-run of *The Lost Letter*. As in the previous year, both productions honoured Romania's national celebration – August 23. In 1969, the newspaper *Hindustan Standard* described Amita Ray's and the group Pachamitram's efforts to adapt *The Lost Letter* as follows:

> Pachamitram displayed initiative in *Indianizing* a Romanian comedy and playing it brilliantly…The major share of this happy adaptation must go to Amita Ray. It is funny but clean and smart. It falls in the category of political satires and the slants are highly enjoyable. The climax of the 'Lame horse' wining the electoral race with a silly but influential woman's butting in and immobilizing the two 'strong' candidates is effected very intelligently. The boozed 'voter' is a pleasing microcosm of the bemused voters of today. The transplanted tree looks Indian all over." [n.a., the original quote in English] (IRRCS 70 / 1969, 191).

This last reference might seem cryptic but it indicates that this particular stage adaptation followed the guidelines established in the 1950s for the production of the play at the National Theatre in Bucharest. As I mentioned earlier, after 1956, *The Lost Letter* had a long career as it was performed on tour or in translation around the world. When Caragiale was adapted to a different cultural milieu, Romanian cultural officials went to great lengths to insure that the adaptation followed a specific approach. They prepared what I would call the "Caragiale package". It contained a volume of the writer's work translated in a language of international circulation (French or German), the Russian translation as a guideline was often added, director Sică Alexandrescu's 1953 published production book for *The Lost Letter* at the National Theatre, sketches and drawings for the stage design of the same production and the feature film *The Lost Letter* produced in

1953. The latter item was almost always found very useful by local recipients of the package. This was of course the point, since the film was not a screen adaptation per se but a recorded version of the 1948 production with minor cast changes. Using films such as the 1953 *The Lost Letter* as inspiration and guide for stage adaptations in foreign cultural contexts was a method of exporting socialist cultural products pioneered by the Soviets in the late 1940s. For example, the 1952 adaptation of Gogol's *The Government Inspector* at the Bucharest National Theatre was produced after such a Soviet film. In 1961, when *The Lost Letter* opened in Japan, the movie was sent to the Bugeiza theatre in Tokyo from the Romanian Embassy in New Dehli (IRRCS 93 / 1958-1965, 249).

The tree that K.N. Roy[15] talked about in the Bengali production towered over the last scene in the Romanian production both in its stage and screen adaptations (Fig. 2).

Fig.2: Sketch by Walter Siegfried for the Sică Alexandrescu *production at the National Theatre Bucharest*

In 1971, when Amita Ray (now Bhose) attended the International Translators' Congress organized in Romania, she gave some insight into the difficulties of adapting *The Lost Letter* for Indian audiences: "As far as Caragiale's masterpiece is concerned, the author's references to the Romanian electoral system made it very difficult for the Indian public to understand the play. I therefore opted for *localization*. The spirit of work, the characters did not change" (V.S. 1971, 22).

Amita Ray's career in India and Romania (she also translated playwright Al. Mirodan, Mihail Sadoveanu, one of the most celebrated local writers before, during, and after communism, and national poet Eminescu) is an excellent example of how Romanian – Indian cultural exchanges with a focus on theatre functioned. The Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, or Romania created and took advantage of a "second network" (I am drawing here on the concept of the socialist system being a "Second World"[16] [Babiracki and Jersild 2016]) based on connections with progressive cultural personalities from either the West or the Global South. It was a means to access international institutions and connect to the global. It was a fertile ground for cultivating connections that would propagate Romanian culture on socialist terms. In the context of Romanian – Indian theatre diplomacy, one individual's interest was a crucial factor in maintaining and expanding this bilateralism. Amita Ray's example is paralleled by Atsushi Naono,

another translator of Caragiale, but this time for Japanese audiences. The bond that socialist internationalists, such as Amita Ray, established with Romania survived Cold War political tides allowing the continuation of mutual discovery.

The Indian-Romanian encounters from the mid-1950s and those from late 1960s describe very different approaches to cultural exchanges. The former show the difficulty in finding a common ground and the inability to internalize and understand the Indian Other. The latter reveal the significance of an individual's immersion in the context of the Romanian Other, thus triggering a process of cultural translation. The two instances underline the essential role played by individual adapters of socialist theatre canons, who become the enablers of globality in East-South cultural diplomacy.

Endnotes

[1] By 1957 Romanian officials were well aware of the work carried by the Indian Popular Theatre Association or the theatre led by Prithvi Raj via articles featured in the Soviet press.

[2] A second agreement was signed in 1963 after Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej (the leader of socialist Romania from 1952 until 1965) and prime-minister Ion Gh. Maurer (1961-1974)'s visit to India the previous year. Their journey included Indonesia and Burma (Myanmar). A third agreement was signed for a period of two years in 1965 when president Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan came to Romania. A forth, for the same period, was ratified in 1967, this time on the occasion of Indira Ghandi's visit to Bucharest. In October 1969, Nicolae Ceausescu (the leader of socialist Romania from 1965 until 1989) and prime-minister Maurer travelled to India. Prior to that, on June 3, a new cultural exchange agreement spanning 3 years was signed. Open Society Archives, Cold War, Romanian Unit, Box 149, India.

[3] The Indian delegation met with the Berezka ensemble and the encounter was quite successful.

[4] The Kathakali group sent to USSR and Eastern Europe in 1956 came from this institution.

[5] The article was not introduced with the name of the author or the actual title featured in *World Theatre*.

[6] In a report from 1964 Kamaldevi was listed as a guest of the Romanian government. IRRCS, India 64 / 1962-1964, 60.

[7] On the Indian side, correspondence with Romania, was carried out by Mulk Raj Anand. MAE, India, 68 / 1956, 62.

[8] The Bandung Conference (1955) was the first major Asian-African gathering representatives from newly independent states and peoples on the path of decolonization. It triggered the rise of what we call now the Global South in global politics laying the ground for the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement. See Lee, Christopher [Ed.]. 2010. *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives,* Athens: Ohio University Press.

[9] Mihai Ghimpu is listed as an expert of the UNESCO delegation. See *Records of the General Conference, Ninth Session, New Dedli, 1956: Proceedings*, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001607/160770eb.pdf.

[10] By 1962 the Guwahati oil refinery, financed by the Romanian state was completed.

[11] MAE representatives met with Czechoslovakia's representative in Romania to discuss this issue especially. MAE, India, 657 / 1967, 7–8.

[12] The dire state of theatre liaisons is mentioned in the document as a reason for inviting Sihn. He had previously researched West German theatre. MAE, India, 656 / 1967, 64.

[13] Amita Ray graduated in 1953 with a degree from Calcutta University, Department of Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics but her contact with Romanian culture redirected her career. Her translation and teaching work in Romania as well as her mistreatment rooted in the drastic changes in political atmosphere in the early 1980s are known only through the editing work carried out by some of her former students. See Bhose, Amita. 2002. *Maree Indiană, Interferenţe culturale Indo- Române, Ediţe îngrijită, cronologie şi note bibliografice de Carmen Muşat-Toma,* Bucuresti: Mihai Dascal casa de presa si editura, 1998, and *Origini, Caiete Silvane, Revista de Studii Culturale*, *Restituiri: Amita Bhose* (1933-1992), nr. 3–4, 2002, 148–172.

[14] The production coincided with the electoral campaign in India and according to Romanian reports it was very successful. MAE, 656 / 1967, 65.

[15] A note from an IRRCS file on the event introduces the author of the article as one of the most influential Bengali theatre critics at the time.

[16] Patryk Babiracki and Austin Jersild. [Eds.] 2016. *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War. Exploring the Second World*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

References

Babiracki, Patryk and Jersild, Austin [Eds.]. 2016. *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War. Exploring the Second World*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Bhose, Amita. 1998. *Maree Indiană, Interferenţe culturale Indo- Române, Ediţe îngrijită, cronologie şi note bibliografice de Carmen Muşat-Toma,* Bucuresti: Mihai Dascal casa de presa si editura.

—. 2002. "Autobiografie 1978." In *Restituiri: Amita Bhose (1933-1992), Origini, Caiete Silvane, Revista de Studii Culturale*. Nr. 3–4, 152–153.

Bordaş, Liviu. 2002. "Zece ani de la plecarea surorii mai mari." In *Restituiri: Amita Bhose (1933-1992), Origini, Caiete Silvane, Revista de Studii Culturale*. Nr. *3–4, 148–151.*

Burlacu, Emil. 2002. "Gânduri despre Amita Bhose." In *Restituiri: Amita Bhose (1933-1992), Origini, Caiete Silvane, Revista de Studii Culturale*. Nr. 3–4, 172.

Chattopadhyay, Kamaldevi. 1956. "Future of Indian Theatre." In *World Theatre*, Theatre in India (issue), vol. 2, 93–101.

Dharwadker, Aparna Bhargava. 2005. *Theatre of Indipendence, Drama, Theory and Urban Performance in India since 1947*, Iowa: University of Iowa Press.

Drâmba, Ovidiu. 1956. "Tradiţiile Teatrului Indian." In *Teatrul.* Nr. 7, 90–94.

Ghimpu, Mihai. 1957. "Impresii despre teatrul Indian." In *Teatrul.* Nr. 5, 69–72.

Kumar, Ravindra [Ed.]. 1957. *The Selected Works of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: 1956-57*. Vol. 10, document nr. 13, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.

Lee, Christopher [Ed.]. 2010. *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Malik, Kapila. 1956. "Bharatanatyam, its Origin and Recent Development." In *World Theatre*, Theatre in India (issue), vol., 2, 142—153.

Raghavan, V. 1956. "Aesthetics of the Ancient Theatre of India." In *World Theatre*, Theatre in India (issue), Vol. V, 2, 101–109.

Vianu, Tudor. 1956. "Cântăreţi şi dansatori indieni." In *Contemporanul.* Nr. 38, 2.

V.S. 1971. "Literatura Română peste Hotare." In *Romania Literara*. 9.09.1971 (Interview with Amita Ray), 20–23.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE)

MAE, India, 59 / 1956.
MAE, India, 66 / 1956.
MAE, India, 67 /1956.
MAE, India, 68 / 1956.
MAE, India, 656 / 1967.
MAE, India, 657 / 1967.
MAE, India, 712 / 1968.

Institute for cultural relations abroad (IRRCS), Romanian National Archives

IRRCS, India 46 / 1955-1958.
IRRCS, India 64 / 1962-1964.
IRRCS, India, 70 / 1969.
IRRCS, Japonia, 93 / 1958-1965.

Open Society Archives (OSA)

Open Society Archives, Cold War, Romanian Unit, Box 149, India.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, International Theatre Institute Archive (BNF/I.T.I.)

1956. "Opening Address of the Session by Mr. Milan Bogdanovici." In *Report on the first world Conference of the ITI, Bombay, October 29th–November 2nd*.

1956. "Exposé on the activities and programme of the International Theatre Institute by Mr. A. Josset, Secretary General of the ITI" in *Report on the first world Conference of the ITI, Bombay, October 29th–November 2nd*.